843 farmers brought to the fields an offering of two kinds of
782 bananas (kluai hōm and kluai namwā), sugar cane, taro,
776 young coconut and cakes; and fresh earth burned and offered with oranges and other kinds of fruit."[27] She was also given the things "dear to women": new clothing, perfume, face-powder, hair lotion and a mirror. In the
843 annual harvest ritual, when some woman (never a man)
776 escorted the Goddess from the field to the rice bin, participation was forbidden to a pregnant woman because
• 784 "the Goddess-Mother might be jealous of the woman's heightened beauty" and so be malevolent. Also, "being now emotionally weak and easily upset, a woman might be frightened by seeing the Goddess, who, after all, is close to being a spirit (phī).

843 The prominence of food cravings in this traditional
262 description leads to a consideration of diet in pregnancy.

Diet in Pregnancy[28]

As long as everything went well, pregnant women "ate as usual." The underlying premise was that each woman early in childhood had established a regular diet suitable to her individual make-up of elements, and eliminated foods that because they did not agree with her or were disliked, were judged "not compatible." A woman could eat as usual because the ordinary daily foods, rice, coconut, etc., were "safe." The modifications introduced to beautify and protect the mother and baby were made on the basis of the properties and

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27. The goddess was following traditional "defeated by one's pregnancy" (phaethong [Mc.F: 599]) symptoms of desiring "sour, salty, or strange things such as burnt earth." Like any woman, her craving for sweets indicated that a heavenly creature was to be born; for fruits, that she would bring forth an animal; for burnt earth, that the god Brahma would be born (Anuman Rajadhon 1961:115-116).

[114] 28. This section does not purport to present a dietary study in modern nutritional terms. Hauck's study (1959) of maternal and child health gives information on foods eaten, craved, disliked, or viewed as "good for" or "not good for" women during child-bearing, and also on illnesses found among pregnant women, including beri-beri, nausea, cramps, and fainting. The data here add to her information on behavior and stress traditional views as to the purpose of the dietary injunctions.

canal misjudged his needs for milled rice and ran out, he had to mill his own paddy. Since the main canal was deepened in 1953, year-round transportation of rice by boat has been possible for many more farmers, and this may further decrease the consumption of home-milled rice.

Of 105 households which had and used a home rice mill, 99 used the polishings for feed but no family in Bang Chan used them for human food (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957). One farmer, headman of a hamlet, who lived near the main canal and the road to Minburi but who used home-milled rice, offered as the reason that the polishings were good chicken feed, and if he took rice to Minburi to be milled, the miller would keep the polishings.

As reported by Janlekha (1955) consumption of milled rice in 106 households amounted to about 285 kilograms per capita per year or 780 grams per person per day. Such "household consumption" includes "losses to pests and poultry, daily gifts to priests, contributions to temples and outlays for feasts and rites in undetermined but considerable amounts" (Sharp et al., 1953, pp. 265-266).

Flesh Foods Other than Fish. - The people of Bang Chan had a taste and appreciation for flesh food, but the production and use of meat was certainly inhibited by Buddhist tenets which prohibited the taking of life.[1] Killing of poultry, fish, etc. was tolerated among the relatively young, but was considered unsuitable to the aged who should be preoccupied with living virtuously. People felt, however, that the sin of taking life was condoned if they offered part of an animal to the priests.

Since many villagers were unwilling to slaughter buffaloes even when they become aged and useless, such animals were commonly kept until they died. Animals which had died of old age or disease were not, however, regarded by Thai Buddhists in Bang Chan as unfit for human consumption. Usually they were cut up and given to the priests. When the buffalo belonging to one family (Household 67)[2] participating in the dietary survey died, some of the meat was used fresh for curry, much

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1. Meat such as water buffalo and pork as well as fish was sold by venders. Since meat was relatively expensive and was usually used in small amounts with other foods, it was offered for sale in chunks which no longer resembled the living animal. Seeing such small quantities spared the sensibilities of the Buddhists who were thus removed a step from the killing. Actual butchering was done by Moslems or Chinese who did not object.

2. Households were identified by numbers assigned by lot.

231 was given away fresh to selected kin and friends, including
262 those who helped to butcher, and the remainder was salted
784 and dried. Of this, 7 kg. were kept and 5 kg. sold. Moslems
184 are forbidden to eat an animal with two or four legs which
252 "dies," although eating dead locusts or fish is not forbidden.
431 Some Moslems in Bang Chan reported offering dead animals to Buddhists in barter for other materials.

231 Oxen, a sign of prosperity, were bought as calves by
262 the Moslems and fattened for meat, usually with a ceremony in
554 mind. In 1955 (Goldsen and Ralis, 1957) only 5 householders
184 in Bang Chan raised hogs, and 4 of these had 1 or 2 only.
262 Moslems ate no pork. A permit from the district officer was
554 necessary for slaughtering a buffalo or an ox but not for hogs. Natural deaths of such animals were supposed to be reported.

235 Poultry was not commonly used for food in Bang Chan.
262 It was the poor man's "feast" food suitable for guests. One
431 couple in the lowest income level killed one chicken or a duck once a year to provide the traditionally good meal for their cooperative harvest helpers. Others, better off, might serve chicken especially at men's dinners. Pigeons were
235 raised for sale in the market by one Moslem family. In 1953-
177 54, one person was trying to raise a few turkeys for sale, as word had reached Bang Chan that turkeys were in demand for
677 foreigners' holiday dinners. By 1957 turkey-raising for cash was spreading, but some villagers objected to having them around "because they look like vultures and bring misfortune."

224 Various wild creatures were used for food whenever they
225 were caught. Turtle curry was considered a great delicacy,
262 but as turtles, which could be caught from May to February,
643 brought a good price in Bangkok, experts usually sold their catch. Frogs and turtles were sometimes kept in a jar until needed. Eels, frogs, cobra and other snakes were used for curry. Field rats, available all year, were roasted.

226 Fish. - Next to rice, fish constituted the most abun-
262 dant food in the diet in Bang Chan. Either fresh or preserved,[1] they were available throughout the year. Killing

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251 1. According to observation in 1952-54, fish caught in excess of immediate needs were preserved for later use. Serpentheads ((1)plaa (3)chauaun), which are about 7 or 8 inches long, and pilot fish ((1)plaa (2)sa-(2)lid), about 4 or 5 inches long, were commonly salted and dried. Heads and tails were removed and the fish were split open and salted overnight. The following morning the fish were washed and spread on fiber trays in the sun to dry. Some excess fish might be dried at anytime of year, but larger quantities were done during the hot, dry season. The process was usually complete within a week.

Killing
262 fish was apparently regarded more lightly by many Buddhists
226 than killing of larger animals, but fishing on (1)wan (4)phra,
• 134 the weekly holy day, was forbidden. Fish were caught from the
canal with nets, traps, spears and hooks. Some were trapped
226 in trenches in the rice fields. Techniques varied with the
varieties of fish mature and plentiful at different seasons.[1]
227 Moreover, every house had a fish pond. It was usually the
hole from which earth had been removed for mounding the home
site, and was connected by a ditch to the canal. Fish were
lured from the canal into the pond by clearing it of injurious
undergrowth, planting appropriate fish-feeding plants, of

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251 Smaller fish were preserved as fermented fish. The fish
with bones left in, were salted overnight. This product was
[269] called (1)plaa (1)raa. For fermented fish to be used as
seasoning, in various dishes, the liquid was drained off, then
the fish were washed and mixed with salt and specially pre-
pared rice. This had been soaked overnight, fried and pounded.
The mixture was allowed to ferment in a small jar for from 2
weeks to 2 or 3 months, depending on the product desired.
Large bones were removed by putting the product through a col-
ander before use. Fermented fish had the advantage that it
could be eaten without further preparation, and the flavor was
generally liked.

Small shrimp, which were caught in quantity during only about 3 weeks in February, were made into shrimp paste as follows: the shrimp were washed, mixed with salt and allowed to stand overnight. The liquid was drained off, and the shrimp were spread out on trays and exposed to the sun for a day or so. Larger ones might then be beaten to loosen the shells, which could be winnowed away. For very small shrimp, this step was omitted. The shrimp were then pounded thoroughly in a mortar, and stored in a jar for about a month before use. Very small fish were sometimes made into fish paste in the same way. The yield was about 2 kg. of the tannish or grayish colored shrimp paste from 4 baskets (4/5 tang) of shrimp. Shrimp paste or (2)ka-(2)pi was an essential ingredient of Thai hot dishes.

The liquid which was drained off from the mixture of fish or shrimp and salt in the first stage of preparing fermented fish or shrimp paste was used by some villagers to prepare (4)nam (1)plaa or fishsoy. The liquid was boiled with certain green leaves such as mango leaves, onion, garlic and salt for from 30 minutes to an hour, then it was strained.
[263] The resulting red-brown liquid was bottled and was ready for use as a condiment.

[186] 1. Sharp et al. (1953, pp. 185-196) described some common fishing techniques and listed 32 varieties of fish known to be found in Bang Chan in 1948-49.

would not come willingly to work. When a family with a reputation for stinginess diluted the (3)khaaw (3)tom too much, the group refused to eat any, thereby reminding the host of his obligation for hospitality.

574 Guests to whom meals were served fell into four categories: 1) kin, 2) visiting dignitaries, 3) priests and 4) drinking companions. Kinfolk who came as guests were married children, or those who were away at school or work, or kinsmen from Bangkok or elsewhere. The older the relative or the greater the distance travelled, the greater the honor accorded him. Foods were exchanged. Two visiting ladies travelling in a large boat, made an annual round of all their relatives, bringing certain "city" foods and receiving substantial gifts of rice, fish and fruit. They stayed for several days as guests of one family, then moved on. Every person from Bang Chan who visited a relative in Bangkok carried big packages of food, usually rice or eggs, as gifts. With the inflated prices in Bangkok, it was advantageous to have a "country cousin" who might bring food. Visiting kinsmen always recognized the need for eventual reciprocity.

Visiting dignitaries were usually entertained by hamlet headmen. Meals served to visiting officials, policemen and others might be elaborate, involving cooperative help in preparation, but reciprocity, if any, rarely took the form of a return meal.

Regular visits of the priests, as well as the invitation of priests to the house for special events, have been mentioned. Priests might also come from afar, usually staying at the temple but receiving generous offerings of food from people of the community.

The custom of convivial get-togethers of either or both sexes was well established. Men traditionally enjoyed "stag" dinners of four up to twenty or more whenever the ingredients for a turtle, frog, cobra or other snake curry were available. Chicken curry might also be thus served, and once a catfish mash was prepared by a male visitor from the north. These curries were cooked by men, and the host served liquor freely. The all-male character of the occasion reflected the old restrictions on women's partaking of flesh foods (see p. 42), but older women did not hesitate to join in the drinking. Women also got together in drinking parties, sometimes to play cards.

In addition to sharing food with people in these four categories, the general rules of hospitality required that anyone who came to the house at meal time, should be offered food, or at least a drink of liquor, tea, or plain water.

Attitudes Toward Food

To older Bang Chan residents, to lack rice was to starve even though fish or vegetable fare were at hand. Since rice was the staff of life, many important customs clustered about it. Ceremonies to the Rice Goddess accompanied the raising, selling, and storing of rice. When the unhusked rice was in the bin, it could not be withdrawn at any time as needed, but astrological charts had to be consulted to make sure the day was auspicious. Paddy could never be withdrawn on Friday, a day sacred to the Rice Goddess. After cooking, the best rice was said to be at the mouth of the pot, so this was offered on ceremonial occasions. Important rules were that when cooking rice, the cover of the pot must never be laid in a mortar and it must be inverted, never laid down flat; otherwise one would be short of rice. One must never scrape the top of the rice with the cover, or the "soul" of the rice would be scraped out of the pot. Moslem residents murmured an Arabic prayer every time the rice was put into the pot, and every time the pot was put onto the fire, as well as before eating.

Rice has been generally regarded as the strength-giving food par excellence. A portion of Chutima's (1939) description of the "old system" follows:

> Our children and young women are forbidden by ancient doctrine from eating any fair quantity of animal products, but must eat plenty of rice which is considered as the only true food, the others being only appetizers. And to stimulate the palate, large quantities of hot and irritating condiments (chilies and peppers principally) are consumed at every meal. Some vegetables, boiled or raw, are also included, but in small quantities in spite of abundant supply.

The quotation indicates first that in the past, rice was considered much more important as food than the "with-rice" dishes. Since the Food and Drug Division of the Ministry of Public Health has been attempting to encourage the eating of more "with-rice," the attitudes found in Bang Chan are of interest. One informant stated that only rice can make children fat, and that the "hot taste" foods help them to eat more rice. Another commented that rice makes children strong, and "with-rice" makes them weak. Another, a mother of seven children, said that if babies were given too much "with-rice" they would be potbellied. The more modern view was expressed by an informant who said that a certain child ate only rice with fish, and was weak; he refused vegetables and banana. One affluent farmer, an elderly man whose orphaned grandchild was being raised on cow's milk (evaporated or dried milk, diluted with boiled water) expressed the opinion that the ancient belief was based on thrift. He said that thrifty

262 753 853 constipation in infants, others that it caused diarrhea, whether eaten directly by the infant or by the mother.

The belief that eggs would cause dental caries, and should therefore be omitted from children's diets, was expressed by the mother in a poorly nourished family. The possibility that such ideas arose from unwillingness to spend much money on food for a child has already been noted (see p. 42).

262 753 758 Information on food suitable in illness was obtained only incidentally. The Thai did not appear to have a consistent theory as to the cause of disease (Sharp et al. 1956, p. 489), and residents of Bang Chan did not seem to associate any of their illnesses with contaminated food or water. Choice of food in illness was probably associated in some instances with the idea that the body is composed of the four elements: wind, water, fire and earth, and that sickness results from or is a symptom of imbalance in the proportions or arrangement of these elements. Thus the "fragrant banana" and eggs, because of their "cooling effect," were said to be forbidden in measles. A child who was getting measles was restricted to rice and dried fish. In contrast the small, [853] rather flavorless banana, designated (3)kluaj (4)nam-(4)waa, was said to have "no cooling effect" and was considered an acceptable food in illness, as well as for newborn infants.

262 753 784 In one instance, when a patient had been taken to the hospital with severe diarrhea, a nurse instructed other family members not to eat ices, syrup (see p. 36), or raw vegetables, nor to drink unboiled water. The informant who told us about this offered no reason for these precautions. These foods were simply "forbidden" to the family of a patient with severe diarrhea.

717 824 245 Notions as to what is fortunate or unfortunate may also affect agricultural processes. The many ceremonies associated with culture and use of rice have been mentioned (p. 42). The idea that a papaya tree growing near the house was "unlucky" was attributed to Thai by a young Thai Moslem in Bang Chan. When we commented on the papaya tree near his front door, he said the papaya tree dies easily and does not like water, but his was planted on high ground. According to this informant few villagers would be willing to grow papaya trees near the house. He considered the non-specific threat of harm as unreasonable, though he said that if specific harm were said to [717] result, he would be concerned about it. The midwife at Minburi Health Center said that she urged each woman who came there for delivery to have more banana, mango and papaya trees planted for home use. Before raising of papayas can be successfully encouraged, however, the idea that papaya trees bring back luck must be overcome.